

JMCC Public Opinion Poll No. 45 - May 29- 31, June 1-2, 2002

On The Palestinian Attitudes Towards The Palestinian Situation in General

Significant Opinion results

- Most Palestinians say they will re-elect Yasser Arafat in up-coming presidential elections. He remains most trusted figure.
- Most Palestinians who believe in the urgency of reform do not think that changing people is the path for reform. Elections were considered best method to achieve reform.
- Recent Israeli incursions further radicalized Palestinian public opinion increasing support for Arafat, Fateh and Hamas and depreciating support for Palestinian Authority agencies and negotiations.
- More Palestinians consider goal of Intifada is to liberate historic Palestine, not ending Israeli occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Following is a summary of survey results:

Effects of Israeli incursion policy on Palestinian public opinion

* The recent Israeli incursion policy influenced Palestinian public opinion on various levels. The Israeli incursions caused an increase in support for Palestinian President Yasser Arafat, Fateh Movement and Hamas Movement, while causing a decrease in support for the Palestinian Authority, security agencies and negotiations.

In answering a question on how did the incursion raids influence your position of the following, 38.4 percent said it increased their support of President Arafat as opposed to 34.2 percent who said their support of Arafat decreased.

42.7 percent increased their support of Fateh, while 26 percent decreased their support.

58.9 percent increased their support of Hamas, while 13.1 percent decreased their support.

65.6 percent increased their support to suicide operations, while 14.8 percent decreased their support.

16 percent increased their support for the Palestinian Authority, while 49.1 percent decreased their support.

16.7 percent increased their support of the security agencies, while 52.2 decreased their support.

12.3 percent increased their support of negotiations with Israeli, while 60.6 percent decreased their support.

* Those interviewed were divided on their opinions towards the performance of Palestinian Authority institutions during the incursions wherein 44.5 percent considered that within the limited capabilities it was not possible for the institutions to work better, while 43.3 percent considered the performance of these institutions during the incursion disappointing. Only 6.4 percent considered the performance at its best.

There was a more positive evaluation of Arafat's performance during the incursion when 27.7 percent said his performance was good and 14.4 percent said it was bad. Meanwhile, 26 percent said Arafat's performance was medium (in between).

Public opinion on reform

* The survey showed that the majority of the Palestinian people, 57.6 percent, believe the time is ripe for conducting reform within the Palestinian Authority while 26.8 percent believe that the time is unsuitable for reform. Of those interviewed 47.2 percent of those who do not see the timing for reform as appropriate justified it with the current conflict with Israel, while 25 percent of those who do not see reform as appropriate said that Palestinians are not ready for reform while only 24.1 percent said they fear the reform would not be genuine.

Most of those who believe it is high time for reform, 41.7 percent, see elections as the best method to achieve reform, while 29.1 percent considered that reform should be done through improving laws and regulations and implementing them on everyone. But only 23.3 percent saw that reform should be through changing figures.

Political and religious figures and factions

* President Arafat and Fateh faction are still the most popular amongst the Palestinian people.

Most Palestinians, 47.5 percent, expected that if free elections were held, the Palestinian people would elect President Arafat again, while 37.8 percent expected otherwise.

President Arafat remains the most trusted Palestinian figure by the Palestinian people wherein 25.1 percent said so as opposed to 27.9 percent in March 2002 and 24.5 percent in December 2001.

The second in line of trust is Sheikh Ahmed Yassin who was chosen by 8.8 percent of those interviewed as the most trusted figure as opposed to 9.7 percent in March 2002 and 12.8 in December 2001. This marks a retract in Palestinian trust of Yassin.

The third in line of trust is Marwan Barghouthi who was chosen by 6.3 percent as opposed to 2.8 percent in March 2002 and 2.7 in December 2001. Barghouthi has maintained the third position for almost a year.

As for Palestinian factions, Fateh maintained the most trusted faction reaching 27.3 percent as opposed to 29.5 last March and 26.1 percent in December 2001. The Islamic Resistance Movement, Hamas, was chosen by 22.6 percent as opposed to 19.8 percent last March and 21.3 percent in December 2001. In addition, al-Aqsa Martyrs Brigades were chosen as the most trusted by 1.4 percent as opposed to 1.9 percent last March.

Intifada and resistance

* A great majority remained supportive of continuing the Intifada with a slight retraction to 78.9 percent from 83.9 percent in March 2002 and 80.1 percent in December 2001.

Popular opinion increased its radicalization when 51.1 percent said that the aim of the Intifada is to liberate all Palestinian land (historic Palestine) as opposed to 42.8 percent who said the Intifada's aim is to end the Israeli occupation. This marks as a change from the December 2001 results when only 43.9 percent said the Intifada's aim is to liberate all of historic Palestine and 48.1 percent considered the goal to end the occupation.

The majority of those interviewed, 70.7 percent, believe that Palestinian military operations are a suitable response during the current political situation as opposed to only 22.5 percent who objected to military operations during the Intifada and considered them harmful.

Most Palestinians, 47.9 percent, do not see a difference between Palestinian military operations conducted inside Israel or in the occupied territories.

As for suicide bombing operations, 68.1 percent of those interviewed supported them and only 26 percent opposed them. This is a retract of support for suicide bombings when in March 2002 72 percent supported them and in December 2001 when 74 percent supported them.

Methodology

A random sample of 1179 people over the age of 18 were interviewed face-to-face throughout the West Bank and Gaza Strip between 29, 30, 31 May and 1, 2, June 2002. The interviews were conducted in randomly selected homes, and the subjects inside each home were also selected randomly according to Kish tables. The interviews were conducted in 60 sampling points chosen randomly according to population.

In the **West Bank** 739 people were surveyed from the following areas: Jenin: Jenin, Jenin Refugee Camp (RC), Kufr Ra'ee, Arabeh, Zababdeh, Akabeh, Sarees, Maythaloun and Al-yamoun . Nablus: Nablus, 'Asira Al-qabalieh, Kufr Hares and Marda. Tulkarem and Qalqilya: Tulkarem, Tulkarem RC, Qalqilya, Jayous, Bal'a and Beit Leid. Hebron: Hebron, Halhoul, Doura, Beit Kahel, Alfawar RC, Adna, Bani Na'eem and Tarqoumia. Bethlehem: Bethlehem, Beit Sahour, Al-khader, Al-doha, Artas and Duhesheih RC . Jericho: Jericho, Aqabet Jaber RC. Ramallah & al-Bireh: al-Bireh, Ramallah, beit Rema, Jalazon RC, kufr Malek and Na'leen. Jerusalem: a-Dahia, A-ram, Shufat, Beit Hanina, Beit Hanina Al-tahta, Old City, Ras al-Amoud, Qalandia RC, al-'Isawia , Silwan, Kufr 'Aqab, Wadi Al-joz

In the **Gaza Strip**: 440 people were surveyed from: North Gaza: Jabalia RC, Jabalia, Beit Lahia, Beit Hanoun. Gaza City: Sheikh Radwan, al-Darj, al-Tufah, Sabra, al-Naser, al-Zaytoun, al-Shaja'ieh, al-Rimal north and south, Shati RC. Deir al-Balah: Deir al-Balah, Nuseirat RC Al-Breig and Al-Maghazi RC. Khan Younis: Khan Younis, Khan Younis RC, Bani Sahila, Abssan al-Kabeera, Abssan AL-Saghera. Rafah: Rafah, Rafah RC, Tal al-Sultan RC.

The margin of error is 3 percent, with a confidence level of 95.

Sample Distribution	Occupation respondents
50.9% of the respondents were from West Bank, 11.8% from Jerusalem, 37.3% from the Gaza Strip.	Students 8.8%, laborers 7.5%, Farmers/fishermen 4.5%
31.0% said they live in villages, 15.3% in refugee camps, and 53.7% in towns/cities.	Craftsmen 1.6% Businessmen/private business 9.8%
49.7% were male, 50.3% were female.	Employees e.g. secretaries/municipal employees/teachers/nurses 15.8%
69.7% were married, 22.4%, single, 3.2% widowed, 1.8% divorced, 2.9% no answer.	Professionals - e.g. doctors/lawyers/ pharmacists/engineers 3.0%
The average age of the respondents was 34 years	Housewives 35.0%, Unemployed 11.3% Retired 1.4%, No answer 1.3%.

Results:

Q1. In general how optimistic or pessimistic do you feel towards the future?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Very optimistic	3.9	4.7	2.5
Optimistic	38.7	36.1	43.0
Pessimistic	32.6	34.0	30.2
Very Pessimistic	24.2	24.5	23.6
No answer	0.6	0.7	0.7

Q2. What do you think of the Oslo agreement? Would you say you strongly support, support, oppose or strongly oppose it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Strongly support	1.7	1.5	2.0
Support	28.4	29.4	26.8
Oppose	38.1	35.7	42.0
Strongly oppose	27.2	28.6	25.0
No answer	4.6	4.8	4.2

Q3. In principle, do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose peace negotiations between Palestinians and Israel?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Strongly support	6.2	5.8	6.8
Somewhat support	40.4	39.1	42.5
Somewhat oppose	25.2	25.4	24.8
Strongly oppose	27.1	28.4	24.8
No answer	1.1	1.3	1.1

Q4. How optimistic or pessimistic are you towards reaching a peaceful settlement for the Arab-Israeli conflict?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Very optimistic	1.7	1.9	1.4
Optimistic	24.4	21.0	30.2
Pessimistic	38.1	37.5	39.1
Very pessimistic	33.8	37.1	28.4
No answer	2.0	2.5	0.9

Q5. Do you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose the continuation of the al-Aqsa Intifada in the West Bank and Gaza Strip?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Strongly support	43.3	39.4	50.0
Somewhat support	35.6	37.3	32.7
Somewhat oppose	13.1	12.6	13.9
Strongly oppose	5.8	8.1	1.8
No answer	2.2	2.6	1.6

Q6. Some believe that the Intifada is the best path to achieve our national goals and end the occupation; others believe that the negotiations are the best way to do so. There are some who believe that the continuation of the Intifada and the negotiations together is the method to achieve Palestinian national goals, so in your perspective what is the best way to achieve our national goals?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza Strip
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Only the Intifada	32.5	32.5	32.5
Only negotiations	10.4	11.6	8.4
Intifada and negotiations together	51.4	50.2	53.4

I don't know	4.7	4.6	4.8
No answer	1.0	1.1	0.9

Q7. In your opinion, what should be the end result of the current Intifada, is it improving the negotiation conditions for Palestinians, ending occupation based on UN Resolution 242 and the establishment of the Palestinian state or liberating all of historic Palestine?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179 N=739	N=440	
Improve negotiation conditions for Palestinians	3.5	2.6	5.0
Ending occupation on basis of UN Resolution 242 and establishing the Palestinian state	42.8	40.7	46.4
Liberating all of historic Palestine	51.1	54.1	45.9
Other	0.6	0.7	0.5
I don't know	1.6	1.5	1.8
No answer	0.4	0.4	0.4

Q8. The current Intifada includes popular characteristics such as the demonstrations and military characteristics. In your opinion, do you support the continuation of a popular or military Intifada or both of them together?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
I am with the continuation of a popular resistance Intifada	18.7	21.0	14.8
I am with the military resistance Intifada	17.2	21.5	10.0
I am with both of them	58.3	51.4	69.8
I don't know	4.1	4.6	3.2
No answer	1.7	1.5	2.2

Q9. Do you support the resumption of the military operations against Israeli targets as a suitable response within the current political conditions, or do you reject it and find it harmful to Palestinian national interests?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
A suitable response within the current political conditions	70.7	68.7	73.9
I reject it and find it harmful to Palestinian national interests	22.5	23.5	20.7
other	0.8	0.5	1.1
I don't know	4.9	5.8	3.4
No answer	1.1	1.5	0.9

Q10. Are you with the resumption of the military operations only inside Israel, only inside the occupied territories or inside Israel and the occupied territories?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Inside Israel only	18.2	19.1	16.6
Inside the occupied territories only	10.5	11.1	9.5
Inside Israel and the occupied territories	47.9	42.9	56.4
I am not with the resumption of the military operations	18.3	20.8	14.1
No answer	5.1	6.1	3.4

Q11. What is your feeling towards suicide bombing operations against Israeli civilians; do you support it or oppose it?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Strongly support	38.8	35.6	44.3
Somewhat support	29.3	30.9	26.6
Strongly oppose	16.2	16.8	15.2
Somewhat oppose	9.8	9.2	10.7
I don't know/ No opinion	5.2	6.8	2.5
No answer	0.7	0.7	0.7

Q12. Saudi Arabia proposed a political initiative which was adopted at the last Arab Summit in Beirut. It stipulates withdrawal of Israel to 1967 borders including East Jerusalem; solve the refugee problem based on UN resolution 194, establishment of a Palestinian state in return to Arab states' recognition of Israel and establishing normal peace relations with it. What is your opinion on this initiative?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Good initiative because it is congruent with Palestinian goals	13.5	11.0	17.7
Bad initiative because it contradicts with Palestinian goals	38.3	43.4	29.5
A somewhat reasonable initiative but it should be amended.	36.5	32.3	43.4
no opinion	9.2	9.5	8.9
no answer	2.5	3.8	0.5

Q13. During the Israeli invasion of the PNA territories, a debate emerged between Palestinians over the performance of the PNA apparatuses; some believe that the PNA performance during the invasion was the best; others believe that its work was disappointing while another group believes that within its limited capabilities it could not have done more, what is your opinion?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
I believe that the PNA apparatuses performed in the best possible manner.	6.4	4.3	9.8
I believe that the PNA apparatuses performance was disappointing.	43.3	46.5	38.0
I believe that the PNA apparatuses worked within the limits of its restricted capabilities and could not have done better.	44.5	43.6	46.1
I don't know	2.6	2.2	3.4
I have no opinion	2.1	2.0	2.3
No answer	1.1	1.4	0.4

Q14. What do you think about chairman Arafat As a leader for the Palestinians during the Israeli incursion?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Very good	13.2	10.0	18.6
good	27.7	27.1	28.9
In between	26.0	28.4	22.0
Bad	14.4	15.4	12.7
Very Bad	14.4	14.1	15.0
No Answer	4.3	5.0	2.8

Q15. How did the Israeli incursion affect your perspective towards the following?

a-Chairman Arafat:	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Increased my Support	38.4	36.4	41.8
Decreased my support	34.2	36.9	29.5
It didn't influence my support	23.2	21.0	27.0
No answer	4.2	5.7	1.7
b- Fatah Movement:	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Increased my Support	42.7	36.4	53.2
Decreased my support	26.0	32.2	15.5
It didn't influence my support	26.5	24.2	30.5
No answer	4.8	7.2	0.8
c- Hamas movement:	Total	West Bank	Gaza

	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Increased my Support	58.9	56.8	62.5
Decreased my support	13.1	15.3	9.3
It didn't influence my support	23.5	21.4	27.0
No answer	4.5	6.5	1.2

d- PNA:	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Increased my Support	16.0	14.2	19.1
Decreased my support	49.1	54.5	40.0
It didn't influence my support	30.2	25.0	38.9
No answer	4.7	6.3	2.0

e- Palestinian Security Service:	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Increased my Support	16.7	13.7	21.8
Decreased my support	52.2	57.6	43.0
It didn't influence my support	26.1	22.2	32.7
No answer	5.0	6.5	2.5

f-The negotiations with the Israelis:	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Increased my Support	12.3	13.9	9.5
Decreased my support	60.6	60.9	60.2
It didn't influence my support	22.0	19.2	26.6
No answer	5.1	6.0	3.7

g- The suicide bombing:	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Increased my Support	65.6	62.5	70.9
Decreased my support	14.8	16.2	12.3
It didn't influence my support	14.9	14.5	15.7
No answer	4.7	6.8	1.1

Q16. A major debate emerged recently in the Palestinian society regarding the need to have reforms in the PA; some believe that it is time to hold internal reforms, while others believe that the time is not appropriate to engage in internal reforms and a third group believes that there is no need for any kind of reforms, what is your opinion?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
I believe that it is time to hold internal reforms.	57.6	56.2	60.0
I believe that the time is not appropriate to engage in internal reforms.	26.8	27.7	25.2
There is no need for any kind of reforms.	10.8	10.1	11.8

I have no opinion	4.0	5.4	1.6
No answer	0.8	0.6	1.4

Q17. If you believe that the time is not appropriate? Why?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=316	N=205	N=111
Because it is not appropriate to engage in internal reforms during the struggle with Israel.	47.2	44.4	52.3
Because we are not ready internally to hold real and serious reforms.	25.0	25.9	23.4
Because I fear that the reforms will be superficial.	24.1	25.9	20.7
because I do not believe that there is no need for reforms	2.8	2.4	3.6
I do not have any opinion	0.9	1.4	0.0

** Asked to those who answered “I believe that the time is not appropriate to engage in internal reforms” in Q16.*

Q18. What do you think is the best way to achieve real reforms that the people are talking about these days? Is changing persons is the best way? Or changing the laws and regulations? Or is holding elections the best way to achieve reform?*

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=995	N=620	N=375
the best way to achieve real reform is to change the structure of the official people	23.3	23.9	22.4
the best way to achieve real reforms is to improve the accountability laws and regulations and implement them on others.	29.1	28.2	30.7
the best way to achieve real reforms is to hold free democratic elections	41.7	41.1	42.7
to change the structure of the official people, to improve the accountability laws and regulations and implement them on others and to hold free democratic elections	1.2	1.3	1.1
Other	1.8	2.4	0.8
I don't know	1.3	1.6	0.8
No answer	1.6	1.5	1.5

** Asked for those who answered “I believe that it is time to hold internal reforms” & “I believe that the time is not appropriate to engage in internal reforms” Q16.*

Q19. If free democratic elections are held under these conditions, do you expect the Palestinian people to re-elect President Yasser Arafat?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Yes	47.5	47.5	47.5
No	37.8	37.8	37.8

No answer	14.7	14.7	14.7
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Q20. Which Palestinian personality do you trust the most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Yasser Arafat	25.1	22.7	29.1
Ahmed Yassin	8.8	6.8	12.3
Marwan Bargouti	6.3	5.4	7.7
Sa'eb Erekat	3.0	3.5	2.0
Haider Abdul Shafi	2.9	2.8	3.0
Ahmed Abdul Rahman	2.0	1.9	2.0
Ahmad Sa'dat	1.8	1.5	2.3
Hanan Ashrawi	1.7	2.3	0.7
Farouq Al-qadoumi	1.6	2.3	0.5
Others	14.8	14.1	15.9
I Don't trust anyone	24.5	27.3	19.8
Don't Know	0.4	0.7	0.0
No answer	7.1	8.7	4.7

** This question was an open ended question*

Q21. Which Palestinian political or religious faction do you trust most?

	Total	West Bank	Gaza
	N=1179	N=739	N=440
Fateh	27.3	22.5	35.5
Hamas	22.6	19.9	27.0
Islamic Jihad	4.2	4.1	4.5
PFLP	3.7	3.8	3.6
Al-Aqsa Brigades	1.4	0.8	2.3
Other Factions	3.9	4.2	3.4
I don't trust anyone	27.2	32.5	18.4
I don't know	0.3	0.5	0.0
No answer	9.4	11.7	5.3

** This question was an open ended question*